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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may undertake this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future.

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated vengeance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction.

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger that fighting may become so violent and general that the wedding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is particularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44.
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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5. This opinion is also shared by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 61 f. who, referring to some cases of banditry by the Sarakatsani, is largely generalizing. There are evil-doers everywhere. must agree that they are an exception. Their morality positively excludes it.

Having identified their principal values, we now understand that almos all of Sarakatsani life is imbued with morality and that it is almost always present, as is proper to types of social life that have not yet been depersonalized, but are based on direct, non-mechanical relations and have preserved their entire human depth.

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Nevertheless, the aspect of moral life that we have just examined does not determine solely and in the final analysis what one must do in daily life, but also what one ought to become, the moral qualities that each Sarakatsani must acquire and with which he must build up his own personality. The values described suggest a model that each man, woman and child must follow and carry out by conforming to it as much as possible. The components of this model we already know, but in different contexts. We must therefore try to synthesize them in a few words and into a coherent picture, despite the risk of repetition.

The Sarakatsani must be temperate, chaste and reserved in his acts, his manners, his language; respectful of the social hierarchy and the discipline prescribed in the rules by which his social life functions; dilligent in the obligations and the exercise of rights related to his role and his social status; he must conform to the prescriptions of tradition to the point of rigidity.

In particular, in order to measure up to his duties, the head of a family or of the Tséligato must show prudence and foresight, action and application in the management of common interests. /240/ As administrator he must show competence, generosity and justice; and as manager and as a